

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SMS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
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SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12 IO-13 /104 W
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P 240955Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0671
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USLO PEKING
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 15343

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: JA, CH, UR
SUBJECT: SOVIET DEMARCHE ON PFT

SUMMARY: SOVIET CHARGE ZINOVJEV, AUGUST 23 DELIVERED
"ORAL NOTIFICATION" TO VICE MINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS ARITA
MUCH ALONG LINES OF PREVIOUS STATEMENTS PROTESTING ANTI-
HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT. STATEMENT DECLARED SOVIET UNION
WOULD TAKE ACTIONS CONSIDERED NECESSARY TO PROTECT ITS
OWN INTERESTS, BUT LIKE EARLIER PRONOUNCEMENTS CONCLUDED
THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD JUDGE JAPAN'S INTENTIONS BY
ACTIONS RATHER THAN WORDS. MOFA DOES NOT ATTACH TOO MUCH
SIGNIFICANCE TO DEMARCHE OR TO POSTPONEMENT OF SOVIET
DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER FIRYUBIN VISIT FOR WORKING-LEVEL
CONSULTATIONS, REGARDING BOTH ACTIONS AS INTERMEDIATE
MEASURES PENDING FULL EVALUATION OF PFT AND REACTIONS IN
JAPAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES TO ITS SIGNING. END SUMMARY.
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1. SOVIET EMBASSY CHARGE ZINOVJEV AUGUST 23 DELIVERED
"ORAL NOTIFICATION" TO VICE MINISTER ARITA, CHARGING THAT
JAPAN IN ACCEPTING ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT HAD DIS-
REGARDED SOVIET VIEWS THAT CLAUSE WAS DEVICE FOR CHINESE
TO ASSOCIATE OTHER NATIONS WITH THEIR OWN HEGEMONIC CON-
CEPTS. ACCORDING TO DEMARCHE, ARTICLE 4 OF PFT, ASSERTING

THAT TREATY WAS NOT AIMED AT ANY THIRD COUNTRY, HAD NO IMPACT IN LIGHT OF PEKING'S STATEMENTS THAT STRUGGLE AGAINST HEGEMONY MEANT JOINT ACTION AGAINST SOVIET UNION. BY TACITLY APPROVING CHINESE POSITION, STATEMENT DECLARED, GOJ MUST BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR POSSIBLE COMPLICATIONS IN INTERNAL SITUATION IN EAST ASIA AS WELL AS FOR ADVERSE REPERCUSSIONS ON SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

2. SOVIET STATEMENT WENT ON THAT WHILE MANNER IN WHICH JAPAN ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH CHINA WAS JAPANESE PROBLEM, PFT WENT BEYOND SCOPE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS SO THAT SOVIET UNION COULD NOT BE INDIFFERENT TOWARD TREATY. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD PROBABLY TAKE ACTIONS CONSIDERED TO BE INDISPENSABLE TO PROTECT ITS OWN INTERESTS. TAKING NOTE OF JAPANESE ASSURANCES THAT GOJ WOULD CONTINUE TO PROMOTE GOOD RELATIONS WITH USSR, STATEMENT CONCLUDED THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD JUDGE JAPAN'S INTENTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF ITS ACTIONS RATHER THAN ITS WORDS.

3. FOLLOWING ZINOVJEV'S "NOTIFICATION," MOFA FELT OBLIGED TO ISSUE REJOINDER STATEMENT TO PRESS NOTING THAT GOJ WAS AT PAINS TO EXPLAIN TREATY TO SOVIET SIDE IMMEDIATELY AFTER ITS SIGNING AND REGRETTED THAT ITS EXPLANATION WAS NOT ACCEPTED. SPOKESMAN REITERATED TREATY WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES, AND THAT JAPAN HAD GIVEN SPECIAL CONSIDERATION TO CONFIDENTIAL

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DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP WITH SOVIET UNION. ZINOVJEV WAS ASKED ONCE AGAIN TO EXPLAIN THAT ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE COVERED JAPAN AND CHINA AS WELL AS OTHER COUNTRIES, AND WAS ALSO IN KEEPING WITH UN CHARTER.

4. DIRECTOR FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIVISION HYODO, PRESENT DURING ZINOVJEV'S CALL, INFORMED EMBASSY MOFA WAS NOT INCLINED TO ATTACH TOO MUCH SIGNIFICANCE TO DEMARCHE, WHICH HE SAID DID NOT DIFFER SUBSTANTIALLY IN CONTENT FROM EARLIER COMMENTS BY ZINOVJEV IMMEDIATELY AFTER PFT SIGNING OR SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS EMANATING FROM MOSCOW. HYODO NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT WORDS "ORAL NOTIFICATION" WERE CAREFULLY CHOSEN BY SOVIETS, RATHER THAN USE OF "AIDE MEMOIRE," "STATEMENT," OR "NOTE VERBALE." HE SAW THIS AS EFFORT TO MATCH FORM OF EXPLANATION OF PFT MADE TO SOVIETS BY JAPANESE CHARGE IN MOSCOW AT TIME OF SIGNING WITHOUT ADDING ANY MORE FORMALITY THAN NECESSARY (IN POINT OF FACT, ZINOVJEV HANDED OVER TEXT). IN HYODO'S VIEW, DEMARCHE WAS INTERMEDIATE STEP INTENDED TO LEAVE SOVIET OPTIONS OPEN WHILE GOVERNMENT AT HIGHEST LEVELS FURTHER MULLED PFT, INCLUDING REACTIONS FROM WORLD PRESS AND THIRD COUNTRIES.

5. SIMILARLY, WHILE HYODO DID NOT DISCOUNT POSSIBILITY POSTPONEMENT ANNOUNCED PREVIOUS DAY OF SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER FIRYUBIN'S TRIP TO JAPAN TO PARTICIPATE IN WORKING-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WAS INTENDED TO DEMONSTRATE DISPLEASURE WITH PFT, HE SAID SOVIETS SEEMED TO BE AT PAINS TO AVOID DRAWING CONNECTION. SOVIETS HAD MERELY INDICATED FIRYUBIN PLANNED TO VISIT INDONESIA AND PHILIPPINES AROUND AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 1 DATES GOJ HAS PROPOSED FOR CONSULTATIONS WHICH MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO COME TO JAPAN. (BOTH MOFA SPOKESMAN AND CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY ABE IN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 15343

PRESS STATEMENTS DISCLAIMED LINK BETWEEN PFT AND POSTPONEMENT.) HYODO FURTHER EXPLAINED THAT REMARKS MADE TO NEW JAPANESE AMBASSADOR UOMOTO PARALLELING ZINOVJEV'S "NOTIFICATION" MERELY REPRESENTED FIRYUBIN'S TAKING ADVANTAGE OF TARGET OF OPPORTUNITY; UOMOTO HAD ASKED FOR PROTOCOLARY CALL ON GROMYKO FOLLOWING HIS ACCREDITATION AND HAD BEEN RECEIVED BY FIRYUBIN INSTEAD.

6. IN INTERIM, HYODO SAID, SOVIET RELATIONS WERE FOLLOWING NORMAL PATTERN: SUPRA-PARTISAN DIET DELEGATION TO SOVIET UNION WAS GOING AHEAD ON SCHEDULE, DATES HAVING BEEN FIRMED UP SUBSEQUENT TO PFT SIGNING, AND SOVIET VICE MINISTER OF CULTURE, DURING CALL ON DEPUTY VICE MINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS AUGUST 21, HAD REACTED POSITIVELY TO JAPANESE

PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND PRO-
CEEDING WITH NEGOTIATION OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS TREATY AS WELL
AS TO INVITATION FOR MINISTER OF CULTURE TO COME TO JAPAN.
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